

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SIG-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 227482

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, SF, NI, WA, AO, RH

SUBJECT: VISIT TO DEPARTMENT BY NIGERIAN UN PERMREP AND
CURRENT ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LESLIE H.
HARRIMAN

REF: STATE 224850

1. AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN, NIGERIA'S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UN, WHO HAS RECENTLY BEEN ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE
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UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID, VISITED WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 9 AND 10 IN ORDER TO PARTICIPATE IN A CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA SPONSORED BY THE FUND FOR NEW PRIORITIES AND THE ORGANIZATION OF METHODIST WOMEN. AT HIS REQUEST, HE PAID SEPARATE CALLS ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LEWIS AND ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS SEELYE. HARRIMAN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER E. S. REDDY AND BY OFFICIALS FROM THE NIGERIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. HE DISCUSSED A BROAD RANGE OF TOPICS OF CONCERN TO THE COMMITTEE AND THE AFRICAN GROUP AT THE UN. THOSE RELATING TO THE POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE IAEA AND THE FRENCH NUCLEAR REACTOR SALE TO SOUTH AFRICA WERE REPORTED REFTEL (NOTAL). FOLLOWING ARE THE OTHER PRINCIPAL TOPICS HARRIMAN RAISED.

2. MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO: HARRIMAN URGED THE U.S. TO SUPPORT AN EFFORT THE AFRICANS WILL MOUNT THIS FALL IN THE UN TO IMPOSE A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. LEWIS AND SEELYE NOTED THAT THE U.S. EMBARGO HAD BEEN IN EFFECT SINCE 1963, BUT HARRIMAN ARGUED THAT IT HAD NOT PREVENTED SOUTH AFRICA FROM OBTAINING ARMS, SINCE FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES COULD BE FOUND TO SUPPLY ITEMS NOT OBTAINABLE FROM THE U.S. LEWIS SAID THE U.S. WAS RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT SANCTIONS WHEN THERE WAS NO STRONG POSSIBILITY OF ENFORCEMENT. HE POINTED OUT THE PROBLEMS OF ENFORCEMENT POSED BY PROFUSION OF PRIVATE WEAPONS DEALERS IN THE WORLD TODAY AND ASKED HARRIMAN IF THE MORAL EFFECT OF AN EMBARGO WOULDN'T BE DISSIPATED BY ENFORCEMENT FAILURES DUE PERHAPS IN PART TO SOUTH AFRICA'S LONG COASTLINE.

3. THE TRANSKEI: HARRIMAN SAID THE OPPOSITION OF THE THIRD WORLD TO ANY RECOGNITION OF THE TRANSKEI WAS CLEAR. AFRICAN COUNTRIES WOULD REGARD ANY SUPPORT FOR THE TRANSKEI AS CONTRARY TO THEIR INTERESTS. IT WAS NOT ENOUGH SIMPLY TO REMAIN "UNCOMMITTED." THE U.S. SHOULD MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT THAT THE TRANSKEI WOULD NOT BE RECOGNIZED. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT CERTAIN TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS WERE URGING RECOGNITION. AMBASSADOR SEELYE SAID THAT WE HAD TAKEN NO POSITION

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ON THE TRANSKEI, BUT THAT WE WOULD GIVE GREAT WEIGHT TO THE VIEWS OF AFRICAN LEADERS, AND WE WERE WELL AWARE OF WHAT THOSE VIEWS WERE. IN DISCUSSION OF TRANSKEI, HARRIMAN ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN TO LEWIS OVER REPORTS HIS COMMITTEE HAD RECEIVED OF ISRAELI INVESTMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL AREAS SURROUNDING TRANSKEI AND OTHER HOMELANDS.

4. ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA: HARRIMAN URGED THAT THE U.S. BE MORE ACTIVE IN DISCOURAGING AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AS WE HAD DONE IN NAMIBIA. AMBASSADOR SEELYE INDICATED THAT WITH REGARD TO THIS PROPOSAL, AND TO THE OTHERS HARRIMAN HAD RAISED, THIS WAS NOT THE MOMENT FOR INTENSIFIED U.S. ACTIVITY VIS-A-VIS SOUTH AFRICA.

5. U.S. INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: HARRIMAN TOLD LEWIS THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE RESENTMENT AMONG AFRICAN NATIONALIST LEADERS THAT THE SECRETARY HAD NOT CONSULTED THEM BEFORE OR AFTER THE MEETING IN ZURICH WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER. HE ALSO EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM OVER THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS, WHICH LEWIS STRONGLY REBUFFED AND ATTEMPTED TO CLARIFY. SEELYE SUBSEQUENTLY DESCRIBED THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA

AT LENGTH, STRESSING OUR OBJECTIVES IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, OUR CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES, AND INDICATED THAT THE TIME FOR MAXIMUM PRESSURE WAS NOW, SINCE THE NATIONALIST GROUPS WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY RADICALIZED AND UNDER COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. MANY OF THEIR LEADERS ACTUALLY PREFERRED AN ARMED STRUGGLE, WHICH WOULD FACILITATE THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY AS WELL AS THE ATTAINMENT OF MAJORITY RULE.

6. RHODESIA: HARRIMAN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE REPORTED PLAN TO "BUY OUT" THE WHITES IN RHODESIA. HE SAID THAT WHILE HE THOUGHT IT HAD MERITS, AND HAD SAID SO PUBLICLY, THE LIBERATION GROUPS WERE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS A RACIALLY BASED POLICY. AMBASSADOR SEELYE TOOK THE OCCASION TO CORRECT THIS MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE PROPOSAL, POINTING OUT THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PURPOSE OF ANY PROGRAM OF FINANCIAL INCENTIVES WAS TO ENCOURAGE QUALIFIED WHITES TO REMAIN IN RHODESIA WHERE THEIR SKILLS WERE NEEDED. HARRIMAN AGREED ABOUT THE VALUE OF KEEPING SKILLED WHITES IN RHODESIA AND SAID THAT THE REASONABLE LEADERS AMONG THE LIBERATION GROUPS ALSO SUPPORTED THIS PRINCIPLE.

7. ANGOLA: HARRIMAN EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF OUR CURRENT ATTITUDE TOWARD MPLA GOVERNMENT, BUT EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WE WOULD REEVALUATE OUR POSITION TO WITHHOLD RECOGNITION BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS. HE ARGUED THE MPLA WAS FAR FROM TAKING UNIFIED, DOCTRINAIRE, LEFT-WING POSITION AND SAID THAT ITS SUPPORT AMONG "MIDDLE CLASS" IN ANGOLA AND ITS MULTIRACIAL NATURE HAD HELPED PERSUADE

NIGERIA TO RECOGNIZE IT. HE ARGUED IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEMAND WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WERE ILLEGALLY PRESENT IN NAMIBIA. SEELYE REPORTED THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT OPPOSED TO MPLA AS SUCH, BUT ITS DEPENDENCE ON OUTSIDE MILITARY FORCES, NOTING THAT THESE APPEARED TO BE ACTIVE AGAINST INTERNAL OPPOSITION AS WELL AS IN TRAINING AND BORDER DUTY.

8. U.S.-NIGERIAN RELATIONS: SEELYE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE BAN ON DIPLOMATIC TRAVEL IN NIGERIA HAD BEEN LIFTED. HE SAID THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN PLEASED WITH HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS GARBA ON JULY 30 AND LOOKS FORWARD TO MORE SUCH CONVERSATIONS. HE SAID WE ANTICIPATE A RETURN TO GOOD RELATIONS. HARRIMAN RESPONDED THAT NIGERIA SHARED THIS HOPE. IN FACT THE NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON HAD URGED HIM TO MAKE CLEAR TO US THAT HIS PRESENTATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS WAS IN HIS CAPACITY AS A UN COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AND NOT AS A SPOKESMAN FOR THE FMG. HE ADDED THAT THE FMG WAS APPRECIATIVE OF THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS IN REGARD TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. NIGERIAN POLICY HAD BEEN RADICALIZED OVERNIGHT AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF GENERAL MUHAMMED. THE STUDENTS AND PRESS MISCONSTRUED EVENTS AND CREATED THE IMPRESSION THAT A NUMBER OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WERE INVOLVED IN THE ATTEMPTED COUP. ONCE
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THIS HAD BECOME ACCEPTED AT THE GRASS ROOTS, IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE THIS ATTITUDE. HOWEVER, THE FMG KNOWS THE USG WAS NOT INVOLVED AND IS NOW ANXIOUS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS.

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